

University of Groningen

Abraham's Last Day according to the Book of Jubilees (Jub. 22)

Ruiten, J.T.A.G.M. van

Published in:
Rewritten Biblical Figures

IMPORTANT NOTE: You are advised to consult the publisher's version (publisher's PDF) if you wish to cite from it. Please check the document version below.

Document Version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Publication date:
2010

[Link to publication in University of Groningen/UMCG research database](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Ruiten, J. T. A. G. M. V. (2010). Abraham's Last Day according to the Book of Jubilees (Jub. 22: 1-23. In *Rewritten Biblical Figures* (pp. 57-88). Åbo Akademi University; Eisenbrauns.

Copyright

Other than for strictly personal use, it is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

The publication may also be distributed here under the terms of Article 25fa of the Dutch Copyright Act, indicated by the "Taverne" license. More information can be found on the University of Groningen website: <https://www.rug.nl/library/open-access/self-archiving-pure/taverne-amendment>.

Take-down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

Downloaded from the University of Groningen/UMCG research database (Pure): <http://www.rug.nl/research/portal>. For technical reasons the number of authors shown on this cover page is limited to 10 maximum.

Abraham's Last Day according to the Book of Jubilees (Jub. 22:1-23:8)

J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten

1. Introduction

Jub. 22.1-23.8 forms the concluding pericope of the Abraham cycle in the book of *Jubilees*. It can be considered as the rewriting of Gen 25:7-10, which describes Abraham's last day. Most of the elements of the biblical text are incorporated in the rewritten text: the summary formula of Abraham's life, the death notice, and the burial report.¹ In *Jubilees*, the biblical text is greatly extended. On his last day, Abraham celebrates the Festival of Weeks together with his sons, Isaac and Ishmael (22.1-9), delivers his last words to Jacob (22.10c-f, 11d-24, 27-30), and performs his last deeds (22.25-27; 23.1a-d) before he dies (23.1ef). The following scheme contains an overall comparison between Genesis 25:7-10 and *Jubilees* 22.1-23.8.²

<i>Genesis</i> 25:7-10	<i>Jubilees</i> 22.1-23.8
25:7 <u>Summary formula of Abraham's life</u>	cf. <i>Jub.</i> 22.1, 7c; 23.8 22.1-9 FESTIVAL OF WEEKS 22.10-2 ABRAHAM'S LAST SPEECH 22.26-23.1d ABRAHAM'S LAST WORDS AND ACTS
25:8 Death notice	23.1ef Death notice 23.2-6 BETWEEN DEATH AND BURIAL
25:9-10 Burial report	23.7 Burial report 23.8 <u>Summary formula of Abraham's life</u>

¹ The patriarchal succession by God's blessing of Isaac (Gen 25:11) is transposed to the beginning of next major narrative section (*Jub.* 24.1).

² In this scheme I use *small caps* for the elements of *Jubilees* which do not occur in Genesis, and vice versa (additions). I use *italics* for the variations between Genesis and *Jubilees*, other than additions or omissions. I underline those elements that show a rearrangement of words and sentences.

2. The Demarcation of Jub. 22.1-23.8

Although most elements of Gen 25:7-10 occur in the last part of the text (cf. 23.1ef, 7a, 8), I consider the passage *Jub.* 22.1-23.8 in its entirety as the concluding pericope of the Abraham cycle because there is unity of time and space as well as a continuity of the actors.

As far as time is concerned, the events described in *Jub.* 22.1-23.8 all happen not only in the last year, but most probably on the very last day and night of Abraham's life. The text refers to Abraham's last year not only at the end (23.1-8), but also at the beginning (22.1. "And it came to pass in that year in which Abraham died ..."; 22.7: "Behold, I am one hundred and seventy-five years old, and fulfilled in days").

The celebration of the Festival of Weeks is placed within the absolute dating system of *Jubilees*. According to the Ethiopic text of *Jub.* 22.1a, the events take place in the second year of the first week of the forty-fourth jubilee, which would give a date of a.m. 2109. This date, however, does not harmonize with other dates in the book, e.g., *Jub.* 24.1, in which the narrative is still in the forty-third jubilee. Dillmann, therefore, amended the text to the forty-third jubilee, and his suggestion is confirmed by the Hebrew version in 4Q219 II.35, where the text reads לשבועה וארבעים.³ This problem still reflects the errors made in *Jub.* 15.1, which is dated to the year 1986 (one hundred and ten years after Abraham's birth), whereas the text of Genesis 17 implies that at that time Abraham was ninety-nine years old. A few further inconsistencies result in the fact that Abraham died, according to the absolute dating system, in a.m. 2060, one hundred and eighty-four years after his birth in 1876 (cf. *Jub.* 11.15).⁴ It is clear, however, that the author of *Jubilees* considers one hundred and seventy-five years as the age of Abraham at his death. See *Jub.* 22.7c ("I am now one hundred and seventy-five years, old and with my time completed"), and 23.8 ("He lived three jubilees and four weeks of years, one hundred and seventy-five years, when he completed the days of his life").⁵

There are no explicit indications in the text that there is a time difference between the celebration of the Festival of Weeks (22.1-9) and the moment Abraham summons Jacob (22.10), after which he died (23.1).⁶ References to the renewal of the covenant (22.15, 30) in Abraham's speech also indicate that there is no time difference between

³ Cf. A. Dillmann, "Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die kleine Genesis" *Jahrbücher der Biblische Wissenschaft* 3 (1851) 71, n. 14; VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees* 2 (1989) 127; J. C. VanderKam, and J.T. Milik, "Jubilees," in *Qumran Cave 4 – VIII: Parabiblical Texts. Part I* (ed. H. Attridge et al; DJD, XIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994) 1-185 (esp. 53); *The Book of Jubilees. Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology* (JSJSup 117; Leiden 2007), 15.

⁴ Cf. J. C. VanderKam, "Studies in the Chronology of the Book of Jubilees," in *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* (ed. J. C. VanderKam; JSJSup 62; Leiden 2000) 539.

⁵ VanderKam (ibidem) points to the fact that Abraham died 400 years before the entry into the land by the Israelites (*Jub.* 14.13; Gen 15:13). This implies a date of his death in a.m. 2051.

⁶ The only other indications of time in *Jub.* 22.1-23.8 are: "At that time" (22.3a); "before he died" (22.4f); "at night" (23.4d).

22.1-9 and 22.10-23.1 because the renewal of the covenant, dated to the middle of the third month, is connected to the celebration of the Festival of the Weeks.⁷ Moreover, the narrative of 23.1-6 presupposes the same situation as in 22.26-30 of Jacob being in the bosom of his grandfather in one bed, as well as Abraham's speech to Jacob. So we may assume that Abraham died during the Festival of Weeks.

There is probably also a unity of space, although the indications with regard to space are somewhat vague. On the one hand, Abraham celebrates the festival together with his sons Isaac and Ishmael who come from elsewhere (22.1-3). On the other hand, Isaac prepares a feast with Ishmael (22.4ab) and Rebekah and Isaac send gifts *through Jacob* to Abraham (22.4c-5), which suggests a certain distance between Abraham and his sons. From 22.6 onwards, only Jacob seems to be in the direct company of his grandfather, Abraham. At the end of the passage, it is said that the two of them (i.e., Jacob and Abraham) lay down together on one bed (cf. 22.26a). After Abraham has breathed his last, it is said: "during all of this Jacob was lying in his bosom" (23.2a). In 23.4, Jacob runs from the body of Abraham to tell his parents about his death. This notion also suggests a certain distance between Abraham and his sons. With regard to Ishmael it is said that he came to see his father (22.1, 3). It is not said that he left his father, but after the report of Abraham's death was heard, he set out to come to his father (23.6), which again suggests a certain distance.

Both at the beginning (22.1-5) and at the end (23.4-8), the persons referred to are Abraham, Isaac, Ishmael, Rebekah and Jacob. At the end, all the people of Abraham's household and all Keturah's sons are also mentioned (23.6, 7). In between (22.10-23.4a), the only persons involved are Jacob and Abraham.

It is striking that Abraham, after he has blessed Isaac (*Jubilees* 21), also blesses his grandchild Jacob (cf. *Jub.* 22.10c, 11d, 13a, 14d, 19b, 27-30). The relationship between Abraham and Jacob is depicted as an intimate one, in which Abraham seems to fill the role of Isaac. Jacob is mentioned by name fourteen times, and is mostly referred to as "my son Jacob" (22.10c, e, 11d, 16a, 19a, 20a), but also as "son of Abraham" (22.23b), or simply "my son" (22.28b). Abraham is referred to as "your father Abraham" (22.16c). When Jacob awakened and realised Abraham was dead he said: "father, father" (23.3d). Only twice is Abraham referred to as "his grandfather" (22.26b; 23.2b). Moreover, Abraham does not give his final blessing to his son Isaac, but to his grandchild Jacob.

In conclusion, one can say that on the basis of the data of time, space and persons, the passage *Jub.* 22.1-23.8 can be considered as a clearly demarcated unity.

3. The Structure of *Jub.* 22.1-23.8

A close examination of this passage shows that the text alternates between narrative parts and direct speech:

⁷ Cf. *Jub.* 6.17-31; 14.17-20; 16.13; 29.7; 44.1-5.

- 22.1-6: narrative
- 22.7-9: direct speech
- 22.10ab: narrative
- 22.10c-f: direct speech
- 22.11a-c: narrative
- 22.11d-24: direct speech
- 22.25-27b: narrative
- 22.27c-f: direct speech
- 22.28a: narrative
- 22.28b-30: direct speech
- 23.1-8: narrative

The narratives are predominant at the beginning (22.1-6) and at the end (23.1-8). The narrative transitions in 22.10ab and 22.11a-c are connected with 22.10c-f, whereas the short narrative elements in 22.25-27b, 28a are connected with the direct speeches (22.27c-f, 28b-30) and with 23.1-8. When divided in this way, one can see a particular mirror-image construction of the chapter. The main direct speech (22.11d-24) is the central part. It is preceded and followed by three narrative parts and two direct speeches. So one can also speak about a tripartite structure:

- 22.1-11c: Events preceding the main speech
- 22.1d-24: The main speech
- 22.25-23.8: Events following the main speech

The direct speeches (22.7-9, 10c-f, 11d-24, 27c-f, 28b-30) are, in fact, monologues uttered by Abraham. The addressee is not mentioned explicitly in the introduction of the direct speech, but is referred to at the very beginning of the speech. In the first direct speech, God is addressed (22.7a). In the second and third speech it is “my son Jacob” (22.10c, 10e, 16a, 19a, 20a, 23a). It should be noted, however, that at the beginning of the third speech (22.11d) Jacob is referred to in the 3rd person (“May my son Jacob and all his sons”). However, the text soon changes into the 2nd person. In the fourth speech (22.27c-f), the addressee is not mentioned. There is no form of address, and God is spoken about in the 3rd person singular.⁸ Possibly, the lack of a form of address in the fourth speech may be connected with the fact that Abraham blesses Jacob (22.27a), who is sleeping and lying in the bosom of his grandfather, Abraham (22.26b; 23.2). In the fifth direct speech (22.28b-30), God is the addressee, although in the introduction of this speech (22.28b) Abraham blesses Jacob, since he begins with “my son.”⁹

Addressee in Direct Speeches

7-9	God
10c-h	Jacob
11d-24	Jacob
27c-f	-

⁸ For the text-critical problems in 22.27a, see J. C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees. II*, (CSCO 511; *Scriptores Aethiopici* 88; Leuven 1989) 133-134.

⁹ For the text-critical problems in 22.28, see VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees. II* (1989) 134-135.

28b-30 God

The structure and modelling of the passage is not only determined by the influence of Abraham's deathbed scene (Gen 25:7-10), but also by other passages, i.e., the blessing of Jacob by Isaac (cf. Gen 27:1-30), the deathbed scene of Isaac (Gen 35:27-29), and especially of Jacob (Gen 47:27-50:14), as we will see below.

4 An Analysis of the Rewriting of Genesis 25:1-7 and Jubilees 22.1-23.8

4.1 The Celebration of the Festival of Weeks (Jub. 22.1-9)

The last day of Abraham's life was the day of the celebration of the Festival of Weeks. The first section of the text (Jub. 22.1-9) mentions this festival explicitly, but the text also refers to it implicitly elsewhere in this chapter in that the text speaks about the renewal of the covenant (Jub. 22.15, 30). The text of Jub. 22.1-9 runs as follows:¹⁰

- 1a In the first week in the forty-fourth jubilee, during the second year – it is in the year that Abraham died – Isaac and Ishmael came from the well of the oath to their father Abraham to celebrate the festivals of weeks (this is the festival of the first fruits of the harvest).
- b Abraham was happy that his two sons had come.
- 2a For Isaac's possessions in Beersheba were numerous.
- b Isaac used to go and inspect his possessions
- c and then return to his father.
- 3a At that time Ishmael came to see his father,
- b and all of them came together.
- c Isaac slaughtered a sacrifice for the offering;
- d he offered (it) on his father's altar which he had made in Hebron.
- 4a He sacrificed a peace offering
- b and prepared a joyful feast in front of his brother Ishmael.
- c Rebekah made fresh bread out of new wheat.
- d She gave it to her son Jacob to bring to his father Abraham some of the first fruits of the land
- e so that he would eat (it)
- f and bless the Creator of everything before he died.
- 5a Isaac, too, sent through Jacob [his] excellent peace offering [and wine to his father] Abraham for him to eat and drink.
- 6a He ate
- b and drank.
- c Then he blessed the most high God who created the heavens and the earth, who made all the fat things of the earth, and gave them to mankind to eat, drink, and bless their Creator.
- 7a "Now I offer humble thanks to you, my God,
- b because you have shown me this day.

¹⁰ All translations from the book of *Jubilees* are taken from J. C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees. II*.

- c I am now hundred seventy-five years of age, old and with (my) time completed.
- d All of my days have proved to be peace for me.
- 8a The enemy's sword has not subdued me in anything at all which you have given me and my sons during all my lifetime until today.
- 9a May your kindness and peace rest on your servant and on the descendants of his sons
- b so that they, of all the nations of the earth, may become your chosen people and heritage from now until all the time of the earth's history throughout all ages."

This section describes how Isaac and Ishmael came to Abraham to celebrate the Festival of Weeks (22.1-3b) on Abraham's very last day. Isaac slaughtered a sacrifice for the offering and prepared a joyful feast in front of Ishmael (22.3c-4b). After this, first Rebekah sent fresh bread made of new wheat through Jacob to Abraham (22.4c-f) and then Isaac sent his peace offering to Abraham through Jacob (22.5). Finally, Abraham ate and drank, blessed the most high God and said grace (22.6-9).

In this passage, the festival is not dated, but elsewhere the author is more clear about the date.¹¹ In *Jubilees* 6, it is "in the third month" (6.17, 20; cf. 6.1, 11), and later he places it in the middle of this month (15.1; 16.13). In 44.1-5, a date on the fifteenth of the third month is implied. The harvest character of the festival is stressed in this passage: "This is the festival of the first fruits of the harvest" (22.1a).¹² Rebekah made fresh bread from new wheat (22.4c), and she sent some of the first fruits of the land to Abraham (22.4d). On the Festival of Weeks, offerings were brought. So Isaac slaughtered a sacrifice for offering (22.3c), and he sacrificed a peace offering (22.4).¹³ The Festival of Weeks is not only a harvest festival, but also a festival of the renewal of the covenant, which began with Noah's covenant with God.¹⁴ In 22.1-9 nothing is said about the covenant. But when Abraham blesses Jacob, he expresses the wish that God would renew his covenant with Jacob (22.15, 30).¹⁵ An important point for the author of *Jubilees* is the human acceptance of the covenant.¹⁶ This commitment takes

¹¹ W. Eiss, "Das Wochenfest im Jubiläenbuch und im antiken Judentum," in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (ed. M. Albani, J. Frey, A. Lange; TSAJ, 65; Tübingen: Mohr, 1997) 165-178; A. Jaubert, *La notion d'alliance dans le judaïsme aux abords de l'ère chrétienne* (Patristica Sorbonensia 6; Paris: Seuil, 1963) 101-104; J.C. VanderKam, "Weeks, Festival of," *ABD*, VI, 895-897 (esp. 896); J. T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, *Primaeval History Interpreted. The Rewriting of Genesis 1-11 in the Book of Jubilees* (JSJSup 66; Leiden: Brill, 2000) 247-250.

¹² Comp. *Jub.* 6.21; 15.1; 16.13; 44.4.

¹³ In *Jub.* 15.2, Abraham's sacrifice during this festival is described, which is not completely in agreement with the biblical prescriptions (Lev 23:15-22; Num 28:26-31).

¹⁴ *Jub.* 6.17: "They should celebrate the Festival of Weeks during this month — once a year — to renew the covenant each and every year." In 6.19 it is mentioned that "Abraham alone kept (it), and his sons Isaac and Jacob kept it ..."

¹⁵ All the festivals of the covenant in the book of *Jubilees* take place on the same day of the year, i.e., the Festival of Weeks (*Jub.* 14.1, 10, 18; 15.1-5, 19, 21; 16.13). See Jaubert, *Notion*, 104.

¹⁶ Cf. Jaubert, *Notion*, 107-111. It seems evident that the correlation between the making of the covenant in connection with the acceptance through oath is due to paronomasia; in the original unvocalized Hebrew text, the consonants שבועות can be read either as *šabu'ot* ("weeks") or as *šebu'ot*

place by swearing an oath.¹⁷ Although nothing is said about swearing an oath in 22.1-9, the text does mention “the well of oath” in the beginning of the text (22.1a), and refers also to “Beersheba” (22.2a).¹⁸ Human commitment is stressed in the blessing of Jacob. After Abraham expresses his wish that God should renew the covenant with Jacob (22.15), he orders Jacob to keep the commandments, to separate from the nations, not to eat with them, and not to act as they do (22.16).

This passage (22.1-9) can be considered as an addition with regard to Gen 25:7-10. However, the texts seem to have been influenced by the blessing of Jacob by Isaac in the book of Genesis (cf. Gen 27:1-30). At the beginning of Abraham's blessing of Isaac (*Jubilees* 21), the author already uses a statement of Isaac's blessing of Jacob. Some phrases from Gen 27:2 (“I am old; I do not know the day of my death”) occur verbatim in *Jub.* 21.1. The continuation of the speech in *Jubilees* 21 (Isaac to Jacob) is completely different from the continuation in Genesis 27. However, in *Jub.* 22.1-9 several elements of the narrative of Gen 27:1-30 can be found (i.e., Isaac orders Esau to get savoury food so that he can bless him; Rebekah prepares the dish for Jacob, who brings it to his father, after which Isaac blesses him). In fact, the similarity between *Jubilees* 22 and Genesis 27 continues until the beginning of Abraham's speech to Jacob. It looks as if this part of the text (*Jub.* 22.1-12) is at least partly modelled on the basis of Isaac's blessing of Jacob in Gen 27:1-30.¹⁹

The interrelationship between *Jub.* 22.1-12 and Gen 27:1-30 is determined by several similarities. Both passages are placed within the context of the approaching end of the patriarch's life, and the structure of the passages is comparable. The most obvious point of similarity is the quotation with some variations of Gen 27:29ab in *Jub.* 22.11gh.²⁰ Moreover, one can point to *Jub.* 22.12ab as a variation of Gen 27:29cd.²¹ But there are more similarities that catch the eye. *Jub.* 22.10a, 10e-11b corresponds very closely to Gen 27:26a-27b. Moreover, one can compare the

(“oaths”). The double nature of the festival (cf. *Jub.* 6.21c) means that it could be referred to as a festival of first fruits and of making oaths.

¹⁷ See *Jub.* 6.10, 11; 29.7.

¹⁸ A Hebrew name meaning “Seven Wells”, but *šeba*’ (“seven”) can be related to *šebu’a* (“oath”). See also note 16.

¹⁹ The passage Gen 27:1-40 is adopted by the author of *Jubilees* quite literally in *Jub.* 26.1-35, although he reinterprets the biblical material in a subtle way, in that the biblical Jacob is rehabilitated. He has reservations about the possibility that Jacob could have deceived his father Isaac, and he portrays Jacob as devoted both to his mother and his father. The author omits Jacob's first lie, and softens his second. See J.C. Endres, *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees* (CBQMS 18; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association, 1987) 92.

²⁰ In Gen 27:29ab, two different words are used to indicate the nations (עַמִּים and לְאֻמִּים), whereas *Jub.* 22.11gh uses one and the same word (*ʾaḥzāb*). Moreover, in Genesis the people serve “you,” whereas in *Jubilees* it is first “you” and then “your descendants.”

²¹ The parallelism “your brothers” and “your mother's sons” in Gen 27:29cd is replaced by the parallelism “people” and “all of Seth's descendants.” The meaning of the latter expression is “the whole of humanity.” See A.F.J. Klijn, *Seth in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Literature* (NTS 46; Leiden: Brill, 1977) 14. For the expression “Seth's descendants,” see Num 24:17, and the reception of this text in CD 7:21; 1QM 11:6. Gen 27:29 is quoted verbatim in *Jub.* 26.23d-24b.

transmission of Abraham's food and wine by Jacob (*Jub.* 22.4-6) with the transmission of Isaac's food and wine by Jacob in Gen 27:25. Finally, in both texts, Jacob's mother, Rebekah, plays a part in the preparation of the meal.²²

Genesis 27:25-29

17a ... and she gave the savory food
and the bread, which she had
prepared, into the hand of *her son*
Jacob

18a So he went in to his father,
b and he said

25a Then he said:

b "Bring it to me,

c that I may eat of my son's game
d and *bless* you." (cf. also Gen
27:4)

e So he brought it to him,

f and he ate;

g and he brought him wine,

h and he drank.

26a His father Isaac
said to him:

b "Come close
c and kiss me, my son."

27a So he came close

b and kissed him;

.....

29a May peoples serve you,

b and may nations bow down to
you.

c Be lord over your brothers,

d and may your mother's sons
bow down to you.

Jub. 22.4-6, 10-11

4c Rebekah made fresh bread out of new wheat.

d *She gave* it to her son Jacob

to bring to his father Abraham some of the first fruits of
the land

e so that he would eat (it)

f and *bless* the Creator of everything before he died.

5a Isaac, too, sent through Jacob [his] excellent peace
offering [and wine to his father] Abraham for him to eat
and drink.

6a *He ate*

b and he drank.

10a He summoned Jacob

b and said to him:

.....

10e "... Now you, my son Jacob, come close

f and kiss me."

11a So he came close

b and kissed him.

.....

11g May nations serve you,

h and may all the nations bow before your descendants.

12a Be strong before people

b and continue to exercise power among all of Seth's
descendants.

.....

²² Unlike the other synoptic overviews in this article, in this overview I use *italics* to show the similarities between Gen 27:25-29 and *Jub.* 22.4-6, 10-11. I *underline* those elements that show rearrangement of words.

Apart from the similarities, there are also many differences between both texts. There is a clear substitution of Isaac by Abraham. Moreover, Esau plays an important part in Isaac's blessing in Genesis 27, but he is completely absent in *Jub. 22.1-23.8*. An important plot line of Genesis 27, the deception of Isaac by Jacob, is omitted. The role of Rebekah in *Jubilees* is limited: "she made fresh bread out of new wheat" (*Jub. 22.4c*). In Genesis, she persuades Jacob to deceive his father, she prepares not only bread (Gen 27:17) but also savoury food from two good kids (Gen 27:9). In *Jubilees*, it is Isaac who prepares the food as an offering (*Jub. 22.3c-4b, 5*). The setting of an approaching end of life is similar in both texts (Gen 27:1-2; *Jub. 22.1,7*), but in *Jubilees* this is combined with the celebration of the Festival of Weeks.

4.2 *Abraham's Testimony for Jacob (Jub. 22.10-24)*

On the Festival of Weeks, which was celebrated on the last day of his life, Abraham addresses Jacob. Formally, his address is divided into two direct speeches, First a short one (22.10), and then a longer one (22.11-24). The text of the testimony runs as follows:

- 10a He summoned Jacob
- b and said to him:
- c "My son Jacob, may the God of all bless and strengthen you to do before him what is right and what he wants.
- d May he choose you and your descendants to be his people for his heritage in accord with his will throughout all time.
- e Now you, my son Jacob, come close
- f and kiss me."
- 11a So he came close
- b and kissed him.
- c Then he said:
- d "May my son Jacob and all his sons be blessed to the most high Lord throughout all ages.
- e May the Lord give you righteous descendants,
- f and may he sanctify some of your sons within the entire earth.
- g May the nations serve you,
- h and may all the nations bow before your descendants.
- 12a Be strong before people
- b and continue to exercise power among all of Seth's descendants.
- c Then your ways and the ways of your sons will be proper
- d so that they may be a holy people.
- 13a May the most high God give you all the blessings with which he blessed me
- b and with which he blessed Noah and Adam.
- c May they come to rest on the sacred head of your seed

- d throughout each and every generation and forever.
- 14a May he purify you from all filthy pollution
- b so that you may be pardoned for all the guilt of your sins of ignorance.
- c May he strengthen
- d and bless you;
- e may you possess the entire earth.
- 15a May he renew his covenant with you
- b so that you may be for him the people of his heritage throughout all ages.
- c May he truly and rightly be God for you and your descendants throughout all the time of the earth.
- 16a Now you, my son Jacob, remember what I say
- b and keep the commandments of your father Abraham.
- c Separate from the nations,
- d and do not eat with them.
- e Do not act as they do,
- f and do not become their companion,
- g for their actions are something that is impure,
- h and all their ways are defiled and something abominable and detestable.
- 17a They offer their sacrifices to the dead,
- b and they worship demons
- c They eat in tombs,
- d and everything they do is empty and worthless.
- 18a They have no mind to think,
- b and their eyes do not see what they do
- c and how they err in saying to (a piece of) wood:
- d 'You are my God',
- e or to a stone;
- f 'You are my Lord; you are my deliverer.'
- g (They have) no mind.
- 19a As for you, my son Jacob, may the most high God help you
- b and the God of heaven bless you.
- c May he remove you from their impurity
- d and from all their error.
- 20a Be careful, my son Jacob, not to marry a woman from all the descendants of Canaan's daughters,
- b because all of his descendants are (meant) for being uprooted from the earth.
- 21a For through Ham's sin Canaan erred.
- b All of descendants and all of his (people) who remain will be destroyed from the earth;
- c on the day of judgement there will be no one (descended) from him who will be saved.
- 22a For all who worship idols
- b and for those who are odious,
- c there is no hope in the land of the living.

- d For they will descend to sheol
- e and will go to the place of judgement.
- f There will be no memory of them on the earth.
- g As the people of Sodom were taken from the earth,
- h so all who worship idols will be taken.
- 23a Do not be afraid, my son Jacob,
- b and do not be upset, son of Abraham.
- c May the most high God keep you from corruption;
- d and from every erroneous way may he rescue you.
- 24a his house I have built for myself to put my name on it upon the earth.
- b It has been given to you and your descendants forever.
- c It will be called Abraham's house.
- d It has been given to you and your descendants forever
- e because you will build my house
- f and will establish my name before God until eternity.
- g Your descendants and your name will remain throughout all the history of the earth."
- [25 Then he finished commanding and blessing him.]

This text is clearly demarcated in that, at the beginning, Jacob is summoned to be blessed (22.10a, c), whereas, after the discourse, it is said that the blessings are finished (22.25). The two aspects, commanding and blessing, mentioned in 22.25, are an integral part of the direct speeches. The alternation of these aspects disclose a subdivision of the two speeches into seven blocks: 22.10cd (blessing); 22.10ef (commandment); 22.11d-15c (blessing); 22.16-18 (commandment); 22.19 (blessing); 22.20-22 (commandment); 22.23-24 (blessing).²³ Moreover, in the second speech, the commandments can be divided into the commandment proper (positive or negative: 22.16a-f; 22.20a) and their motivation (22.16g-18; 22.20b-22). The commandment is put in the imperative, whereas the motivation is introduced with "for" (*'ěsmā*). Here is an outline of the structure of the passage:

Outline of Jub. 22.10-25

10ab Narrative introduction

10c-f

A. 10cd Blessing (10c: "my son Jacob")

B. 10ef Commandment (10e: "my son Jacob").

11a-c Narrative transition

11d-24

A. 11d-15 Blessing (11d: "my son Jacob")

B. 16-19

- 16a-f Commandment to separate from the nations (16a: "my son Jacob")

²³ In each block (seven times), the text refers explicitly to "my son Jacob" (22.10c, 10e, 11d, 16a, 19a, 20a, 23a).

- 16g-18 Motivation
- 19 Blessing (19a: "my son Jacob")

C. 20-24

- 20a Prohibition to marry a Canaanite woman (20a: "my son Jacob")
- 20b-22 Motivation
- 23-24 Blessing (23a: "my son Jacob")

25a *Narrative conclusion*

The commandments deal with the separation of Israel from the nations. In 22.16a-f, the commandments have a threefold motivation: other nations' actions are impure (22.16gh), they offer their sacrifices to the dead (22.17), and they make themselves idols (22.18). In 22.20a, the commandment has a two-fold motivation: the first seems to be a judgement of Canaan (22.20b), in the second there is a reference to the sin of Ham (22.21-22).

The blessings (22.10cd, 11d-15, 19, 23-24) contain several similarities. The theme of God's election of Israel is a central issue. It corresponds to the commandments in which Israel is demanded to separate from the nations. In fact, God's preference for Israel forms the basis for the summons. The passages stress the eternity of the blessing and election (22.10d, 11d, 13b, 15c, 24b-g). God helps and strengthens Israel (22.10c, 14c, 19a). He purifies them from all guilt (22.14ab, 19c, 23c). In this way Israel can do what is right (22.10c), exercise power among all of Seth's descendants (22.12b), and build God's house (22.24).

Comparison of the Two Speeches (Jub. 22.10c-f and 22.11d-24)

It is striking that the phrasing at the beginning of the first (22.10cd) and second blessings (22.11d-15) show several similarities, as can be seen in the following synopsis:

Jub. 22.10cd

- 10c "My son Jacob, may the God of all
bless you,
10d and may he strengthen you to do
righteousness and his will before
him.
10e May he choose you and your seed
to be his people for his heritage in
accord with his will throughout all
time.

Jub. 22.11d-f

- 11d "May my son Jacob and all his sons be blessed to the
most high Lord throughout all ages.
e May the Lord give you righteous seed,
f and may he sanctify some of your sons within the entire
earth.

Both passages have several verbal agreements with or without syntactical variations ("my son Jacob"; "to bless"; "righteous"). In addition, several words and phrases can be considered as variations of each other. I refer to "God of all" and "the most high

Lord”; “throughout all time” and “throughout all ages”; “your seed” and “your sons;” “to choose” and “to sanctify.”

There are also some differences. In the first case, the blessing is pronounced over “Jacob” (22.10c) and, in the second case over “Jacob and all his sons” (22.11d). When the election is mentioned, the author speaks, in the first case, of Jacob and his seed (22.10e), in the second case, of *some* of Jacob’s sons (22.11f).

Some translations reproduce a difference of style between the first and second speech. Charles and Wintermute render the first passage (22.10c-f), and 22.24 as prose, whereas they render most of the second passage as poetry.²⁴ Davenport speaks of the prose of 22.10 and the poetry of 22.11, and because of this difference and because both the poem and the prose essentially express the same idea (blessing and command), he postulates two different pieces of tradition behind the text.²⁵

The presence of a piece of poetry in an otherwise prose text attracts attention. Moreover, there is some disagreement between translations as to what should be rendered as poetry and what should not. Therefore, I will briefly go into the question of the rendering of Abraham’s speech as poetry. Because it is difficult to correctly reproduce the original Hebrew text of the Ethiopic translation, I will not deal with the formal aspects of Hebrew poetry (such as length of the lines; rhythm; alliteration, etc.), but restrict myself to the balance structure as far as the content is concerned.²⁶

Balance between the parts of a line is the most fundamental characteristic of Hebrew poetry. Most lines of *Jub.* 22.11d-24 show balance between two parts of a line (bicola) as far as content is concerned: 11e forms a balance with 11f; 11g with 11h; 12a with 12b; 12c with 12d; 13a with 13b; 13c with 13d;²⁷ 14a with 14b; 14c with 14d; 14e with 15a; 15b with 15c; 16a with 16b; 16c with 16d; 16e with 16f; 16g with 16h; 17a with

²⁴ R.H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis: Translated from the Editor's Ethiopic Text* (London: Black, 1902) 138-142; O.S. Wintermute, “Jubilees: A New Translation and Introduction,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, II* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth, London: Doubleday, 1985) 97-99. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees 2* (1989) 129-133, renders only 22.16-18 as poetry. K. Berger, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (JSHRZ 5.3; [1981] 436-438, renders the whole text as prose.

²⁵ See G.L. Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees* (Studia Post-Biblica 20; Leiden: Brill, 1971) 53, note 2.

²⁶ For an introduction to Hebrew poetry, see, e.g., R. Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry* (New York: Basic Books, 1985); W. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to Its Techniques* (JSOTSS 26; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 2005); A. Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism: Revised and Expanded Edition*, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008. See also H.W.M. van Grol, *De versbouw in het klassieke Hebreeuws: Fundamentele verkenningen. Deel een: Metriek* (Amsterdam: Katholieke Theologische Hogeschool, 1986).

²⁷ The arrangement of 13ab and 13cd by Charles (*Book of Jubilees*, 139) and Wintermute (“Jubilees,” 98) is far from clear. They seem to consider 13ab as three lines, and 13cd as one. In this way, the arrangement of the text becomes very irregular. Our arrangement makes clear that both 13a and 13b have one common element (“with which he blessed me” and “with which he blessed Noah and Adam”), as well as 13c and 13d (“your descendants” and “throughout each and every generation forever”). Moreover, 13a balances with 13c in that God gives the blessings *to you*, whereas these blessings come to rest on the head of *your descendants*, while 13b balances with 13d in that “Noah and Adam” parallels “each and every generation.”

17b; 17c with 17d; 18a with 18b; 18cd with 18ef;²⁸ 19a with 19b; 19c with 19d. The balance structure of the lines in 20-22 is somewhat more complicated. As far as verses 20-21 are concerned, I consider 20ab a bicolon, and 21a-c a tricolon. There is a certain balance between the first part of these lines: both 20a and 21a contain the word "Canaan." Moreover, the second parts of these lines also correspond with each other: 20b balances with 21b. In addition, one can also consider 21b and 21c as balanced lines. As far as verse 22 is concerned, the balance between 22d and 22e, and between 22g and 22h is obvious. There is also a balance between 22c ("there is no hope in the land of the living") and 22f ("there is no memory of them on the earth"). Therefore, Charles rearranged the lines, so that 22f follows immediately on 22d. Perhaps one can leave the sequence of the phrases as they are, and consider 22c-f as an example of chiasmus. I arranged 22ab as a bicolon, with a very short second colon, although it is also possible to consider it as an unbalanced monocolon. As far as verse 23 is concerned: 23a forms a balance with 23b, and 23c with 23d.

I am not sure whether verses 10cd and 24 still fall within the limits of poetry. The parts of these verses are probably too long. However, one can point to a structure of balance between 10c and 10d. There is also a balance between 24ab, 24cd and 24ef, in that 24a balances with 24c and 24e, whereas 24b balances with 24d and 24f. The difference between poetry and prose, therefore, should not be exaggerated in these passages. Moreover, also on the basis of the content, I think it unnecessary to assume a merging of two different pieces of tradition, because the alternation of blessing and commandment is a characteristic of the whole chapter. The blessing also occurs in 22.13a, 14cd, 19, 23-24, 27-30.

Separate from the Nations (Jub. 22.16-19)

Throughout, Abraham's speech reflects an anti-Gentile bias, especially in the call for separation (22.16-19) and in the caution against intermarriage (22.20-22).

The requirement to separate from the nations starts with a multiple call (22.16a-f), followed by a motivation introduced with "for" (22.16g-18), and a blessing (22.19). As far as the call is concerned, first Jacob is summoned in broad terms to keep Abraham's commandments. Subsequently, the content of these commandments is given in four lines, first generally "separate from the nations" (22.16c), and then more specifically in the form of prohibitions "do not eat with them" (22.16d), "do not act as they do" (22.16e), and "do not become their companion" (22.16f). Contact with idolatrous non-Israelites is a threat to the religious belief of Israel, therefore many Jews opted for a limitation of social interaction with Gentiles.²⁹ The separation from the nations prevents Israel from imitating their "actions" and "ways" and "worship".

²⁸ The very small phrase of 22.18g has no parallel phrase. However, it refers back to 18a.

²⁹ C. Hayes, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Intermarriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002) 47.

The commandment of separation (22.16c) can be related to the use of the verb “to separate” in other places in the book of *Jubilees* (2.19; 11.16).³⁰ The commandment is formulated very closely to what is said in *Jub.* 2.19, where it describes how God himself has taken Israel from the nations at the beginning of creation (“I will now separate a people for myself from among my nations...”), and where He put Israel in a special relationship with himself.³¹ Other formulations are also used in *Jub.* 2.19-21: “I will sanctify the people for myself” (2.19); “They will become my people and I will become their God” (2.19); “I have chosen the descendants of Jacob among all of those whom I have seen, I have recorded him as my first-born son” (2.20); “He sanctified him for Himself as a noteworthy people out of all the nations” (2.21). The use of the term “first-born” in 2.20 also reflects Israel’s position in relation to the other people: Israel has been chosen out of all the nations.³² The election terminology of 2.19-21 is also present throughout Abraham’s speech to Jacob, especially in the blessings (see, e.g., 22.10cd, 11d-15). The separation of Israel by God is the background for the commandment in 22.16c. Because God has separated Israel, Israel must therefore separate from the nations.

The separation also refers back to Abraham’s childhood. When Abram as a child of fourteen “began to realize the strayings of the land – that everyone was going astray after the statues and after impurity he separated from his father in order not to prostrate himself before idols with him” (11.16). Later, at the age of twenty-eight, Abraham tries to persuade his father to abolish idolatry (12.1-8). Then, in his sixtieth year, Abram burned his father’s house of idols (12.12-14). The fight against idolatry has motivated Abram to separate from his father, and this again serves as an important motivation for the commandment to separate from the nations (22.16-19). In *Jubilees*, impurity and uncleanness are associated with idols and idolatry,³³ and according to Hayes these terms are synonymous.³⁴

The background to the commandment of separation (22.16c) is possibly the Hebrew verb בָּדַל (“divide from”; “separate between ... and”; “separate from”).³⁵ This verb

³⁰ The verb “to separate” is also used in *Jub.* 2.7; 4.17; 5.6; 37.20, but in different contexts.

³¹ Cf. E. Schwarz, *Identität durch Abgrenzung: Abgrenzungsprozesse in Israel im 2. Vorchristlichen Jahrhundert und ihre traditionsgeschichtliche Voraussetzungen. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Erforschung des Jubiläenbuches* (Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe XXIII, 162; Frankfurt a/M.: Lang, 1982) 19-21.

³² Cf. B. Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women in the Book of Jubilees* (JSJSup 60; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 150, n. 3; van Ruiten, *Primaevial History Interpreted*, 57-61; Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 178-179.

³³ Cf. *Jub.* 20.7-8: “... Do not follow their idols and their uncleanness. Do not make yourselves gods that are molten images or statues because they are something empty and have no spirit in them.” See also *Jub.* 1.9; 35.14.

³⁴ Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 53.

³⁵ See *Jub.* 2.19b (4Q216, 7:9-10): [הנה אני מבדיל לי] עם בתוך עממי: “[I will now separate for myself] a people among my nations.” The verb is supplied by the editors of 4Q216, 7:9-10. Cf. J.C. VanderKam, and J.T. Milik, “Jubilees,” in *Qumran Cave 4 – VIII: Parabiblical Texts. Part 1* (ed. H. Attridge et al.; DJD 13; Oxford, Clarendon, 1994) 1-185 (esp. 19-20).

occurs in the Old Testament 41 times (10 x *niph'al*; 31 x *hiph'il*). It is used in different contexts.³⁶ In the first place, the verb בָּדַל is used in the priestly account of the creation (Gen 1:4, 6, 7, 14, 18). Creation is, in fact, the arranging of the elements. It is the making of distinctions between light and darkness, between waters above and waters under the firmament, between day and night.³⁷ In the second place, בָּדַל is used to express the special position of the priests and Levites compared to the rest of the people (see Num 8:14; 16:9; Deut 10:8).³⁸ In the third place, the verb is used in connection with being set apart from other people. Israel has separated itself from the pollution of the nations (Ezra 6:21; cf. Neh 9:2; 10:29). It is used in connection with the prohibition against foreign marriages (Ezra 9:1; 10:11), and the separation from Israel of those of foreign descent (Isa 56:3; Neh 13:3). בָּדַל expresses the election of Israel three times (Lev 20:24, 26; 1 Kings 8:53). In these passages, God is the subject of the verb and Israel the object. Finally, it is used in the context of making a distinction between the clean and the unclean (see Lev 10:10; 11:47; 20:25; Ezek 22:26; cf. Ezek 44:23). Israel has the task of making distinctions, especially with regard to food. The dietary system is a reflection and a reinforcement of Israel's differentiation from the nations.³⁹

The assumed use of בָּדַל in Jub 22.16c ("separate from the nations") seems to reflect those passages where it is used in connection with being set apart from other people.⁴⁰ In these passages, Israel has separated itself from the pollution of the nations (Ezra 6:21; cf. Neh 9:2; 10:29). It is used in connection with the prohibition against foreign marriages (Ezra 9:1; 10:11), and the separation from Israel of those of foreign descent (Isa 56:3; Neh 13:3). It is striking that the texts that speak about the separation of Israel all date from the post-exilic period, and especially in that they originate within the framework of the Chronistic History. The summons to separate is used in connection with Ezra's struggle against mixed marriages. The situation seems to be that of Israelites who returned from exile (cf. Ezra 6:21: "The people of Israel who had returned from exile") had taken some of the foreign daughters to be wives for themselves and their sons (cf. Ezra 9:1). Because of this, they neglected the command of separation from the nations. Those from whom Israel has to separate itself is formulated in several ways: Ezra 6:21: וְכָל הַנִּבְדָּל מִטְּמֵאֵת גּוֹי הָאָרֶץ ("and also by every one who had separated himself from the pollutions of the peoples"); Ezra 9:1-2: לֹא נִבְדְּלוּ הָעָם יִשְׂרָאֵל וְהַכֹּהֲנָם וְהַלְוִיִּם מֵעַמֵּי הָאֲרָצוֹת כְּתוֹעֲבֹתֵיהֶם ("... have not separated themselves from the peoples of the lands with their abominations"); Ezra 10:11: וְהִבְלּוּ

³⁶ בָּדַל, *TWAT*, I, c. 518-520 (B. Otzen); Schwarz, *Identität*, 82-84.

³⁷ Cf. W.H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift: Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte von Genesis 1 1 - 2 4a und 2 4b - 3 24* (WMANT 17; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1967)² **Error! Bookmark not defined.**, 97-103, 167-169.

³⁸ Elsewhere, the special position of the priests and Levites is also expressed by the verb בָּדַל: Num 16:21; Ezra 8:24; 1 Chr 23:13; cf. Ezra 10:16; 1 Chron 25:1.

³⁹ J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 3; New York: Doubleday, 1991) 615, 725.

⁴⁰ Cf. Schwarz, *Identität durch Abgrenzung*, 63-74.

ויבדלו זרע (‘‘separate yourselves from the peoples of the land ...’’); Neh 9:2: ישראל מכל בני נכר (‘‘And the descendants of Israel separated themselves from all foreigners’’); Neh 10:29: וכל הנבדל מעמי הארצות (‘‘and all who have separated themselves from the peoples of the lands’’).

The command to separate from the nations involves certain obligations. The goal of the separation is ultimately ‘‘to worship YHWH, the God of Israel’’ (Ezra 6:21), ‘‘to walk in God’s law ... and to observe and do all the commandments of the YHWH, our Lord and his ordinances and his statutes’’ (Neh 10:30). In Nehemiah 10, this is explained in individual stipulations that govern the separation of the congregations with regard to the outside world (Neh 10:31-32) and stipulations that regulate the charges for the temple, cult and priest (Neh 10:33-39).

In *Jub.* 22.16 the call to separate is elaborated on differently. The subsequent three prohibitions (22.16d-f) put into practice that which is meant by the general commandment to separate from the nations. They express something about what separation meant for daily life. There are probably critical points of contact in everyday reality between the members of the inner group and the outer group.⁴¹

One could probably read the first prohibition (22.16d), namely not to eat with the nations, against the background of the dietary rules, in particular, Leviticus 11 and Deuteronomy 14.⁴² Also, in their canonical context, these laws have the function of erecting boundaries. It is perhaps also possible to connect the prohibition against eating with the prohibition against consuming blood. This prohibition occurs more often in *Jubilees* (e.g., 6.6-7, 10-14; 7.28-32; 21.6, 18).⁴³ Both the eating of the right animals and the preparation of the food in a proper way occur at every meal, and these requirements do not facilitate social contacts between Jews and non-Jews. Jews objected to Gentile food on the grounds that it was not kosher.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Other texts in the Second Temple Period also warn against intimate contact with non Israelites, e.g., in Sirach (‘‘Receive a stranger into your home and he will upset you with commotion, and will estrange you from your family’’; Sirach 11:34); in the *Letter of Aristeas* (‘‘... Therefore lest we should be corrupted by any abomination, or our lives be perverted by evil communications, he hedged us round on all sides by rules of purity, affecting alike what we eat, or drink, or touch, or hear, or see’’; *Letter of Aristeas*, 142); and *3 Maccabees*: ‘‘But the Jews continued to maintain their goodwill towards the kings and their unswerving fidelity. Yet worshipping God, and living according to his law, they held themselves apart in the matter of food ... the foreigners ... talked continually of the difference they had with regard to worship and food’’ (*3 Macc* 3:3-7). According to *3 Maccabees*, the restrictions with regard to worship and food precludes the Jews from good contacts with the Gentiles (see *3 Macc* 3:10). Examples from Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 47-48. The question of common meals was also an issue in Daniel (Dan 1:8-16), and in combination with idolatry, also in the first and second books of Maccabees (1 Macc 1:47, 62; 2 Macc 6:18-21).

⁴² Cf. Schwarz, *Identität durch Abgrenzung*, 23-25. See also Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 140.

⁴³ For the biblical background to the prohibition against eating blood, see, e.g., Gen 9:4; Lev 17:10-14; Deut 12:16, 23-27; 15:23; 1 Sam 14:32-34.

⁴⁴ Cf. Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 49. She stresses the fact that abstention from Gentile food is not on the grounds that it is ritually defiled by contacts with Gentiles. Other examples of the Jewish objections to Gentile food include Tob 1:10; Jdt 10:5; 12:19.

Another possibility could be that the author of *Jubilees* warns specifically against the participation in cultic or religious meals. In Exod 34:14-17, the prohibition against common meals is put into a context of idolatry. The act of “eating together” is, in fact, the eating of sacrifices, offered to other gods. The combination of eating with idolatry and intermarriage (cf. Exod 34:16) also occurs in *Jub.* 22.16-22. Although the text of Exod 34:14-17 is not quoted explicitly in *Jub.* 22.16-20, one can say that both texts have several elements in common: the worship of the one God and not another God, the prohibition against eating with others, the prohibition against marrying a foreign woman, the prohibition against making idols.

The phrase of the second prohibition (22.16e: “Do not *act* as they do”) is quite general. Possibly we should connect this phrase with the text a few lines further: “for their *actions* are something that is impure” (22.16g). This is elaborated on as follows: offering to the dead (22.17a);⁴⁵ worship to demons (22.17b); eating in tombs;⁴⁶ and idolatry (22.18). As we have already mentioned, in his indictment of the nations, the author of *Jubilees* is referring to idol worship.⁴⁷ The prohibition against idolatry corresponds to the requirement to worship God alone. Many texts deal with impurity in relation to the nations, and often this is related to idolatry. When Israel sins and thus acts as the nations do, it becomes morally impure. In the first chapter of the book (cf. *Jub.* 1.7-11), God predicts that the people of Israel will follow the nations, their impurities and their shame. They will serve their gods. And therefore one must separate from the nations and from their acts and behaviour in all thinkable ways. The theme of idolatry in relation to the nations is widespread in the Old Testament.⁴⁸

The third prohibition (22.16f: “and do not become their companion”) is even more difficult to understand. The problem is connected with the fact that we do not know the original Hebrew text of *Jubilees* in this case.⁴⁹ Does the Hebrew here read as a form of the root רעה, (“have dealings with”; have companionship with”? In that case, this prohibition is also very general. One could also assume a form of the root רעה (“be united”; “be joined with”). In that case, one could think of a prohibition against entering into a pact with idol worshippers (cf. Hos 4:17: “Ephraim is joined to idols, let him alone”). Some have pointed to a prohibition as a political covenant with other people. There are several examples in the Old Testament. For example, the previously mentioned text of Exod 34:16 (“do not make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land”), although the word רעה is not used there.⁵⁰ In Dan 11:6, the word רעה is indeed used. One can also refer to the programme of the Hellenistic Jews in Jerusalem (cf. 1 Macc 1:11: “In those days lawless men came forth from Israel, and misled many,

⁴⁵ For the offering to the dead, see Deut 26:14; Ps 106:28; Sir 7:33; Tobit 4:17; *Ep. Jer.* 27, 71; *Or. Sib.* 3.84, 356, 588, 723. See also Wisdom 14:15.

⁴⁶ See, e.g., Isa 65:4.

⁴⁷ See also *Jub.* 7.20; 20.2, 7-9; 21.5, 23; 36.7. Cf. Schwarz, *Identität durch Abgrenzung*, 25-29.

⁴⁸ See, e.g., Deut 7:5; Isa 40:19-20; 41:6-7; 44:9-20; 45:20-21; 46:6-7; Hab 2:18-19; Sir 30:18-19. See also the *Letter of Jeremiah*.

⁴⁹ For the following, see Schwarz, *Identität durch Abgrenzung*, 29-30.

⁵⁰ See also Deut 7:2.

saying: 'Let us go and make a covenant with the Gentiles round about us, for since we separated from them many evils have come upon us.'"). There is evidence of warnings against alliances with other people, both in the Old Testament and in early Jewish literature. These possibly form the background to the third prohibition "do not become their companion".

The concept of the covenant between God and Israel can be seen as being at the root of this issue. All commandments and all prohibitions should be understood as stipulations of the covenant, with the call for separation as an important one. As far as the author of *Jubilees* is concerned, the Israelites loyalty to their God goes hand in hand with the separation from other nations. The most important identity marker for Israel is service to its God.

Prohibition against Intermarriage (Jub. 22.20-22)

/ }

This final speech of Abraham's to Jacob contains still another prohibition, namely not to marry a daughter of the Canaanites (22.20-21). This prohibition against intermarriage is also mentioned elsewhere in the book of *Jubilees*. In 20.4, Abraham admonishes his children not to marry a Canaanite woman because of Canaan's curse. In 25.1-3, Rebekah advises Jacob not to marry any of the Canaanite women as did his brother Esau, who had two wives from the descendants of Canaan. They had embittered Rebekah's life with their impurity. Jacob is advised to marry someone from Rebekah's father's house. In 30.11, the prohibition is formulated more broadly.⁵¹ The commandment is no longer restricted to one specific non-Jewish population, but is universally applicable ("any foreign women"). At the same time, it not only concerns the marriage of a Jewish man to a non-Jewish woman, but also of a Jewish woman to a non-Jewish man. Not only is the admission of non-Jewish women to its own people refused, but also the admission of a Jewish woman living amongst a foreign people.⁵² The boundaries were to be maintained on either side.

The fixation on the daughters of Canaan in *Jub.* 22.20-22 coincides with the first motivation (22.20b: "because all of his descendants are (meant) for being uprooted from the earth"). The motivation does not deal with the dangers of intermarriage for the Jewish partner, for example, a temptation to idolatry, the prohibition is rooted in the idea that the seed of Canaan is threatened with extermination.

One can understand the background to this motivation only if one includes *Jub.* 10.28-34 in the discussion. There it is said that Ham (one of Noah's three sons) and his sons enter the land which is allotted to them. However, an Canaan, the youngest son of

⁵¹ On *Jubilees* 30 and intermarriage, see C. Werman, "Jubilees 30: Building a Paradigm for the Ban on Intermarriage," *HTR* 92 (1997) 1-22; C. Hayes, "Intermarriage and Impurity in Ancient Jewish Sources," *HTR* 92 (1999) 3-38. See also C. Hayes, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Intermarriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

⁵² See Schwarz, *Identität durch Abgrenzung*, 32-35.

Ham, does not keep the division of the earth which was sealed by oath. Against the advice of his father and brothers he migrates to the land of Lebanon as far as the river of Egypt. Because of this sinful behaviour, Canaan and his sons are cursed ("you will be uprooted for ever").⁵³ This curse is used as the motivation behind the prohibition against intermarriage with the daughters of Canaan in chapter 22.

The text of *Jub.* 22.20-22 provides us with a second motivation for the prohibition against intermarriage, namely Ham's sin (22.21a: "For through Ham's sin Canaan erred"). Most probably, Ham's sin should be interpreted differently. It is not directly related to the above-mentioned threat of the extermination of the seed of Canaan as a consequence of the transgression of Canaan. Ham does not seem to be held responsible for the illegal occupation of the land by his son. It seems more relevant to relate Ham's sin to *Jubilees* 7, the parallel text of Genesis 9, which describes how Ham sees his father's shame. This leads to his downfall and to the curse, not only of Ham, but also of his son Canaan. Although it is not completely clear which sin exactly the author has in mind here, in *Jub.* 7.20 there is an admonition related to Ham's sin: "He testified to his sons that they should do what is right, cover the shame of their bodies, bless the one who had created them, honour father and mother, love one another, and keep themselves from fornication, uncleanness, and from all injustice."

The reproach of fornication and impurity occurs several times in connection with the prohibition against intermarriage and it is possible that the author of *Jubilees* in 22.21b recapitulates all these things under the phrase: "*Ham's sins*".⁵⁴ One can also point to the continuation of *Jubilees* 22, where the text speaks about "the people of Sodom" (22.22). The people of Sodom defiled themselves through sexual sins and became impure. So marriage with the Canaanites would introduce impurity.

The prohibition against intermarriage is not an innovation of the author of the book of *Jubilees*. Mixed marriage is an important issue in Ezra and Nehemiah (cf. Ezra 9-10; Neh 10:31; 13:23-29). In Ezra 9-10, Ezra's struggle against mixed marriages is related to the topic of separation (cf. Ezra 9:1; 10:11).⁵⁵ According to Ezra and Nehemiah, Israelites and Gentiles are genealogically distinct. Israelites are a holy seed, whereas Gentiles are profane. The mixture with the profane sometimes defiles the holy seed of Israel. Ezra requires genealogical purity for all Israel.⁵⁶ He is informed by the leaders of the people that those who have returned from exile are not keeping the command to separate, because many of them married women from the non-Israelite population. This faithlessness was mostly laid at the door of the officials and chiefs (Ezra 9:1-2). In Ezra 9:2, it is said that the consequence of mixed marriages is that "the holy seed" has mixed itself: "For they have taken some of their daughters to be wives for themselves and for their sons; so that the holy seed has mixed itself with the

⁵³ On *Jub.* 10.28-34, see Schwarz, *Identität durch Abgrenzung*, 33; B. Halpern-Amaru, *Rewriting the Bible. Land and Covenant in Postbiblical Jewish Literature* (Valley Forge, Penn.: Trinity, 1994) 42-43; van Ruiten, *Primaeval History Interpreted*, 360-362.

⁵⁴ Schwarz, *Identität durch Abgrenzung*, 34.

⁵⁵ Cf. Schwarz, *Identität durch Abgrenzung*, 63-74.

⁵⁶ Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 26.

peoples of the lands” (כי נשאו מבנותיהם להם ולבניהם והתערבו זרע הקדש בעמי הארצות). Israel (alone) is the “seed of holiness.” Therefore – and to keep this characteristic – separation is inevitable. For Ezra, loss of the Israelites identity as “holy seed” is more important than the danger of total isolation. The isolation from other nations becomes concrete in mixed marriages. Neh 10:29-30 gives a positive slant to the separation from other nations, namely to hold to the law of God. In Neh 10:31-40, this is elaborated upon with several stipulations, the first of which is not to marry the inhabitants of the land (“We will not give our daughters to the peoples of the land or take their daughters for our sons”).⁵⁷

Apart from in Ezra and Nehemiah, the issue of mixed marriages also turns up in relation to the prohibition against entering into a political covenant with other people (cf. Exod 34:10-16; Deut 7:1-5; Josh 23:11-13; Judg 3:5-6).

The principal commandment is worked into several stipulations that are very similar to those in *Jub.* 22:16-22. In the first place, these texts speak of the destruction of places with foreign cults (Exod 34:13; 23:24b; Deut 7:5; Judg 2:2). This element, namely the destruction of these places is not present in *Jubilees* 22. However, one can point to *Jub.* 12.1-14, where the young Abram tries to convince his father to abandon foreign gods, after which Abram burns the house of the idols and everything in it. In the second place, there is a danger in participation in foreign sacrificial meals (Exod 34:15b; cf. Num 25:1-5). This resembles the prohibition against common (cultic?) meals in *Jub.* 22.16. In the third place, there is the warning (Exod 34:16; Deut 7:2) or even prohibition (Deut 7:2) against mixed marriages. This involves the danger of turning away from YHWH, and the worship of the gods of other nations by their daughters (see Num 25:1-5). As we have seen, as in *Jubilees*, the prohibition against mixed marriages plays an important part in the Israelites' lives.

The passages mentioned in the Hebrew Bible also prohibit making treaties. The background to this is the renewal of the covenant. In *Jub.* 22.16-22, the command to separate replaces the prohibition against making treaties, as the stipulations are very similar. Similarly, the renewal of the covenant also plays an important role in *Jubilees*. The call to separate from other nations is focused on the isolation of Israel. The ultimate goal is the absolute loyalty of Israel towards its God. One was to keep away from anything that could endanger this claim to the exclusivity of YHWH.

In conclusion, Abraham's farewell speech to his grandson, Jacob, just before his death, reinforces the requirement to separate from the nations, which is realised by the abstinence from common meals, the prohibition against making agreements with them, and the prohibition against intermarriage. This separation, as mentioned, is ultimately

⁵⁷ Some people have pointed to the fact that the foreign women in Ezra and Nehemiah might have been an inner-Yehudite group that was assessed as strange for their otherness. See L.L. Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period. I. Yehud: A History of the Persian Province of Judah* (LSTS 47; London: T&T Clark, 2004) 285-288; 313-316; B. Becking, “On the Identity of the ‘Foreign’ Women in Ezra 9-10,” in *Exile and Restoration Revisited: Essays on the Babylonian and Persian Periods in Memory of Peter R. Ackroyd* (ed. G.N. Knoppers and L.L. Grabbe; LSTS 73; London: T&T Clark, 2009) 31-49.

related to the prohibition against idolatry, which corresponds to the worship of the God of Israel alone. With the covenant, this unique God was considered to have made Israel His partner from creation onwards. In *Jubilees* there is one unique and eternal covenant between God and His chosen people, and this establishes Israel as different from all other peoples.

4.3. *Abraham's Death and Funeral* (Jub. 22.25-23.8)

After Abraham's extensive speech to Jacob, in which he blesses him and summons him to separate from the nations, Jacob falls asleep. In the beginning of this speech, Abraham summons Jacob to come close (cf. 22.10e-11b). Afterwards, both lie down together on one bed (22.26a). Abraham dies while Jacob is lying on his bosom (22.26b; 23.2a, 4a). Immediately preceding his death, Abraham kisses Jacob seven times (22.26c), and he blesses him once again (22.27-30). After his grandfather's death, Jacob awakes, and discovers Abraham's cold body (23.3). He goes to his parents to tell them the news (23.4), first to his mother, who tells Isaac. They then all return to the dead body of Abraham and Isaac falls on his father's face and kisses him (23.5).

As already mentioned, most elements of Gen 25:7-10 are incorporated in this part of the text (22.25-23.8), although most of the text of *Jubilees* can be considered as an addition with regard to the biblical text. This can be seen in the following overview:⁵⁸

Jubilees 22.25-23:1d (no parallel in Genesis)

- 25 Then he finished commanding and blessing him.
- 26a The two of them lay down together on one bed.
 - b Jacob slept in the bosom of his grandfather Abraham.
 - c He kissed him seven times,
 - d and feelings and mind were happy about him.
- 27a He blessed him wholeheartedly
 - b and said:
 - c "The most high God is the God of all and Creator of everything who brought me from Ur of the Chaldeans to give me this land
 - d in order that I should possess it forever
 - e and raise up holy descendants
 - f so that they may be blessed forever."
- 28a Then he blessed Jacob:

⁵⁸ In the synoptic overview, I have tried to give a classification of the similarities and dissimilarities between Genesis and *Jubilees*. The elements of Genesis which do not occur in *Jubilees* are in *small caps*, and vice versa, i.e., the omissions and additions. In *normal script* are the corresponding elements between both texts, i.e., the verbatim quotation of the source text in *Jubilees*. The variations between Genesis and *Jubilees* are in *italics*, other than additions or omissions. I have *underlined* those elements that show rearrangement of words and sentences.

- b "My son, with whom I am exceedingly happy with all my mind and feelings –
- c may your grace and mercy continue on him and his descendants for all time.
- 29a do not leave or neglect him from now until the time of eternity.
- b May your eyes be open on him and his descendants
- c so that they may watch over them
- d and so that you may bless
- e and sanctify them as the people of your heritage.
- 30a Bless him with all your blessings from now until all the time of eternity.
- b With your entire will renew your covenant and your grace with him and with his descendants throughout all the history of the earth."
- 23.1a He put two of Jacob's fingers on his eyes
- b and blessed the God of gods.
- c He covered his face,
- d stretched out his feet,

Genesis 25:7-8

Jubilees 23.1e-f

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>7a <u>These are the days of the years of Abraham's life, one hundred and seventy-five years.</u></p> <p>8a Abraham breathed his last</p> <p>b and died in a good old age,</p> <p>c <u>an old man and full (of days).</u></p> <p>d and was gathered to his people.</p> | <p>[cf. Jub. 22.1, 7c; 23.8]</p> <p>1e and slept the sleep which is to eternity,</p> <p>[cf. Jub. 23.8c]</p> <p>f and was gathered to his fathers.</p> |
|--|--|

Jubilees 23.2-6 (No parallel in Genesis)

- 2a During all of this Jacob was lying in his bosom
- b and was unaware that his grandfather Abraham had died.
- 3a When Jacob awakened from his sleep,
- b there was Abraham cold as ice.
- c He said:
- d "Father, father!"
- e But he said nothing to him.
- f Then he knew that he was dead.
- 4a He got up from his bosom
- b and ran
- c and told his mother Rebekah.
- d Rebekah went to Isaac at night
- e and told him.
- f they went together -

- g and Jacob with them (carrying) a lamp in his hands.
- h And when they came,
- l they found Abraham's corpse lying (there).
- 5a Isaac fell on his father's face
- b cried,
- c and kissed him.
- 6a After the report was heard in the household of Abraham,
- b his son Ishmael set out
- c and came to his father Abraham.
- d He mourned for his father Abraham - he and all of Abraham's household.
- e They mourned very much.

*Genesis 25:9-10**Jubilees 23.7-8*

- 9a And his sons, Isaac and Ishmael,
buried him in the cave of
Machpelah,
in the field of Ephron, the son of
Zohar the Hittite, east of Mamre,
- 10a the field which Abraham
purchased from the Hittites.
- b There Abraham was buried,
and Sarah, his wife.
[]

[cf. Gen 25:7]

- 7a They - his sons Isaac and Ishmael - buried him in the *double*
cave []

- near his wife Sarah.*
- b AND ALL OF THE PEOPLE OF HIS HOUSEHOLD AS
WELL AS ISAAC, ISHMAEL, AND ALL THEIR SONS AND
KETURAH'S SONS IN THEIR PLACES MOURNED FOR
HIM FORTY DAYS.

- c AND THE TEARFUL MOURNING FOR ABRAHAM WAS
COMPLETED.

- 8a He lived three jubilees and four weeks of years, one
hundred and seventy-five years.

- b WHEN HE COMPLETED THE DAYS OF HIS LIFE,
- c an old man and full of days.

[cf. Gen 25:8b]

The text of Gen 25:7-10 is clearly recognizable in *Jubilees*: Abraham's age (Gen 25:7) is rephrased in *Jub.* 23.8a by way of permutation and variation.⁵⁹ The phrase "he lived" (*Jub.* 23.8a) can be considered as a variation of "these are the days of the year of Abraham's life" (Gen 25:7). The death report (Gen 25:8) is taken over with variation in *Jub.* 23.1ef. The first phrase (Gen 25:8a: "Abraham breathed his last") is reworked in *Jub.* 23.1e ("He slept the sleep which is to eternity").⁶⁰ In Genesis, the verb נָתַח ("to breathe the last; expire; die") occurs only in Gen 25:8, 17; 35:29. Gen 25:17 is not adopted by *Jubilees*, but Gen 35:29a ("Isaac breathed his last") is borrowed in the same way in *Jub.* 36.18 ("to sleep the sleep which is to eternity"). There are no other places in the book of *Jubilees* where the expression "to sleep the sleep which is to eternity" occur. In the Hebrew Bible, the collocation of the words יָשָׁן ("to sleep") and עוֹלָם ("eternal") occurs only in Jer 51:39, 57 (שָׁנָה עוֹלָם וְיָשָׁנוּ): "They sleep an eternal sleep") in the context of an oracle of judgement against Babylon. Sleep in relation to death also occurs in Ps 13:4 (אֵינִי אֵשֶׁן הַמּוֹת: "I sleep the sleep of death") and Dan 12:2 (מִיֵּשְׁנֵי אֲדָמַת עֶפְרָה: "those who sleep in the dust of the earth").⁶¹ However, none of these places seem to have influenced the reworking in *Jub.* 23.1e.

The omission of the second phrase (Gen 25:8b: "[he] died in good old age") might be deliberate and related to *Jub.* 23.9-10, where it is said that although Abraham was perfect in all his actions, he did not even complete four jubilees. Moreover, he became old in the presence of evil.

The third phrase (Gen 25:8c: וַיִּשָּׁבַע) is adopted in *Jub.* 23.8c by way of permutation. The Hebrew text of *Jub.* 23.8c (2Q19.5) reads וַיִּשָּׁבַע יָמָיו. The Masoretic Text omits יָמָיו ("days"), but most ancient versions have it.⁶²

The last phrase of the death report (Gen 25:8d: "and he was gathered to his people") is included in 23.1f ("and he was gathered to his fathers"). Although the Masoretic Text of Gen 25:8 reads וַיִּאָסֶף אֶל עַמּוֹ (cf. also Gen 35:29; 49:33), there are some septuagintal witnesses that presuppose אֶל אֲבוֹתָיו ("to his fathers") instead of אֶל עַמּוֹ ("to his people").⁶³ The author of *Jubilees* most probably read "to his fathers" in his biblical text instead of "to his people," so that we have a verbal quotation here.

The burial report (Gen 25:9-10) is partly taken over in *Jub.* 23.7. In the Ethiopic text of *Jubilees*, the subjects of the verb "to bury" ("his sons Isaac and Ishmael") are placed at the end of the sentence.⁶⁴ The Ethiopic text has an interpretation of "the cave of

⁵⁹ See also *Jub.* 22.1, 7.

⁶⁰ According to Endres, the phrase "Abraham breathed his last and died in good old age" is omitted because it is a stock phrase. See Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 46, n. 57. However, in my opinion the phrase is not omitted but reworked.

⁶¹ In Dan 12:2 the word עוֹלָם occurs in the next phrase: "And many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to eternal life ...". Cf. also Job 3:13 where sleep is used in the context of death.

⁶² Cf. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees* 2 (1989) 137.

⁶³ Mss D n 527 319 509 read πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας αὐτοῦ. Compare MT Judg 2:10: נִאָּסְפוּ אֶל אֲבוֹתָיו ("They were gathered to their fathers").

⁶⁴ For a discussion of the displaced subjects, see VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 66; VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees* 2 (1989) 137.

Machpelah” as “the double cave,” which can be found also in the Septuagint and the Old Latin.⁶⁵ The Hebrew of *Jub.* 23.7a in 3Q5 (frg. 3) shows that the original text most probably contained the word “Machpelah.” See also 2Q19. The location of the cave of Machpelah in the field of Ephron is not mentioned.⁶⁶ In *Jubilees*, nothing is said about the way the cave was purchased (Gen 25:10).⁶⁷ It is now the cave in which Abraham’s wife Sarah was buried. The two phrases in Gen 25:9-10 that contain the verb “to bury” (25:9a: “They buried him,” and 25:10b: “Abraham was buried and Sarah, his wife”) are taken together in *Jubilees*. The active verb is taken over from the first phrase, and the mention of his wife from the second.

Most of the passage in *Jub.* 22.26-23.8 can be considered as an addition to the death and burial report in Gen 25:7-10. The dramatization of this simple death notice is peculiar.⁶⁸ The modelling of the passage in *Jubilees* seems to be influenced by the deathbed scene and burial report of Jacob in Genesis (Gen 47:28-50:14). After Joseph’s oath to bury his father Jacob in Canaan (Gen 47:28-33), Jacob blesses Joseph and especially his two sons, Ephraim and Manasse (Gen 48:1-22). After this, he blesses all his sons (Gen 49:1-28), and he again asks to be buried in Canaan (Gen 49:29-32). Then, Jacob died (Gen 49:33), and the lament of Joseph and all Egypt is described (50:1-4a) after which the burial instructions are executed (Gen 50:4b-14). In *Jubilees*, the deathbed scene of Jacob is abbreviated very much. Both Jacob’s death and burial are described in just four verses (*Jub.* 45.13-16). No speeches are reported, and no mention is made of Joseph’s sons, Ephraim and Manasse.

The death and burial report of Abraham (Gen 25:7-10) has several similarities with the death and burial reports of the patriarchs Isaac (Gen 35:28-29) and, particularly, Jacob (Gen 47:28-50:14). Nearly all elements of Gen 25:7-10 can be identified in the other reports: 1. the age of the patriarch (Gen 25:7a; 35:28; 47:29b); 2. the patriarch breathed his last (Gen 25:8a; 35:29a; 49:33c); 3. the gathering to his people (Gen 25:8d; 35:29c; 49:33d); 4. the burial by his sons (Gen 25:9-10; 35:29e; 50:13). A few other elements occur only in two of the three reports. The formal mention of his death occurs only in the report of Abraham’s (Gen 25:8a) and Isaac’s deaths (Gen 35:29b). Also, the formula that the patriarch was old and full of days occurs only in these reports (Gen 25:8c; 35:29d). The location of the burial place is mentioned only with regard to Abraham (Gen 25:9-10) and to Jacob (Gen 50:13; cf. 49:29-30).

The death and burial report of Isaac has no extra elements with regard to the report of Abraham in Genesis. However, the death and burial report of Jacob is much more elaborate. In the first place, one can point to Jacob’s dying in Egypt, but his wish to be

⁶⁵ Cf. also *Jub.* 19.5-6.

⁶⁶ According to Endres the identification of the cave can be considered a doublet. See Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 46, n. 57.

⁶⁷ VanderKam suggests that the continuation of the *המצפלה* in Gen 25:9, namely *בן צחר החתי אל השדה* possibly belongs to the original text of *Jub.* 23.7. See VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 66; VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees 2* (1989) 138.

⁶⁸ Endres speaks about an “ironic” dramatization, since the author of *Jubilees* left out much of the dramatic elements in other narratives. Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 46.

buried in Canaan: Gen 47:29-31; 48:21; 49:29-32; 50:2-14. In the second place, the death of Jacob is written in the context of a deathbed scene (Gen 47:31; 48:2; 49:33). In relation to this deathbed scene, the text also mentions the feet of Jacob (Gen 49:33). In the third place, the death of the patriarch is in a context of blessing and commanding. The blessing concerns Jacob's grandchildren, namely Joseph's sons (Gen 48:3-22), and all his twelve sons (Gen 49:1-28). The command is related to Jacob's wish to be buried in Canaan (Gen 47:29-32; 49:29-33a).

Most likely, the author of *Jubilees* used the extensive deathbed scene of Jacob in Genesis as a basic structure for his description of Abraham's deathbed scene. I point to the following similarities. In the first place, one can compare the arrival of Abraham's sons (*Jub.* 22.1-3) with the arrival of Jacob's son Joseph (Gen 47:29-48:2; see also Gen 35:27-29). In the second place, both in *Jubilees* as in Genesis, we see the presence of the grandson of the dying person. Moreover, there is an important interaction between grandfather and grandson (cf. Gen 48:1-22). In the third place, the death of the patriarch is put into the context of a deathbed scene (cf. Gen 47:31; 48:2; 49:33; *Jub.* 22.26a; 23.2-4). In relation to this deathbed scene, the text also mentions Jacob's feet (cf. Gen 49:33; *Jub.* 23.1d). In the fourth place, the death of the patriarch is put into a context of blessing (cf. Gen 48:9, 15; 49:28; *Jub.* 22.10cd, 11d-15, 23-24, 25, 27-30), and commanding (cf. Gen 48:29-31; 49:29-33; *Jub.* 22.10ef, 16-18, 20-22, 25). Finally, a period of mourning is described after the death of the patriarch (Gen 50:1-4a; *Jub.* 23.7bc).

These generic similarities between Jacob's deathbed scene in Genesis and that of Abraham in *Jubilees* are supported by the similarity in the use of words when the persons involved pass away. See especially the resemblance between Gen 49:33-50:1 and *Jub.* 23.1, 5, 7. This strengthens the idea that the deathbed scene of Jacob in Genesis functioned as a model for the deathbed scene of Abraham in *Jubilees*:

Genesis 49:33-50:4

33a Jacob finished to command
his sons,

(cf. Gen 46:4)

b and he gathered his feet into
the bed,

c breathed his last,

d and was gathered to his
people.

1a Joseph fell on his father's

Jub. 22.25; 23.1, 5, 7

25 He finished commanding AND BLESSING him.....

1a HE PUT TWO OF JACOB'S FINGERS ON HIS EYES

b AND BLESSED THE GOD OF GODS.

1c HE COVERED HIS FACE,

d and stretched out his feet,

e fell asleep forever,

f and was gathered to his ancestors.

.....

5a Isaac fell on his father's face

b and cried [],

c and kissed him.

- face
- 1b and cried over him
- 1c and kissed him.
- 2a JOSEPH COMMANDED THE
PHYSICIANS IN HIS SERVICE TO
EMBALM HIS FATHER.
- b SO THE PHYSICIANS EMBALMED ISRAEL,
- 3a THEY SPENT forty days IN
DOING THIS,
- 7b *And all of the people of his household as well as Isaac, Ishmael, and all their sons and Keturah's sons in their places mourned for him forty days.*
- b FOR THAT IS THE TIME
REQUIRED FOR EMBALMING.
- c *And the Egyptians mourned
for him seventy days.*
- 4a *And the days of mourning for
him were completed.*
- 7c *And the tearful mourning for Abraham was completed.*

In the first place, Gen 50:1 seems to be quoted in *Jub.* 23.5, with a change of names to suit the characters involved. In the second place, Gen 49:33a has close parallels in *Jubilees*. One can point to the ending of the speech in *Jub.* 22.25, which is comparable to the ending of Jacob's speech to his sons (Gen 49:33a). The reference of the command is, of course, different in both texts. In Gen 49:33, it refers to Jacob's command to bury him in Canaan together with his fathers. In *Jub.* 22.25 it refers to the command to Jacob to separate from the nations. The blessing is strictly speaking not mentioned in Gen 49:33 as it is in *Jub.* 22.25. We have seen, however, that blessing plays an important role in Jacob's deathbed scene.

In the third place, when Jacob passes away it is said: "he draw up his feet into the bed" (Gen 49:33b). The verb used is *ῥῥῥῥ* ("to draw up"). This drawing up of Jacob's feet is related to the beginning of the scene: "And it was told to Jacob: 'Your son Joseph has come to you'; then Israel summoned his strength, and sat up in bed" (Gen 48:2). After blessing his sons and grandsons and after his command, he drew up his feet, and put them back into bed in this way. *Jub.* 23.1d also speaks about the patriarch's feet in relation to his death. The fact that Gen 49:33b is the only place in the Hebrew Bible where feet are mentioned in relation to a person's death strengthens the relationship between Gen 49:33b and *Jub.* 23.1d. Yet it is striking that *Jub.* 23.1d does not speak about the "drawing up" of the feet, but about the "stretching out of the feet".⁶⁹ It might be relevant in this context to mention that also, in the *Testaments of*

⁶⁹ Cf. P.A. Robinson, "To Stretch out the Feet: A Formula for Death in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," *JBL* 97 (1978) 369-374 (esp. 371). According to Robinson some Greek Mss of *Jub.* 23.1 would read *ἐξάίρω* ("to draw up") instead of *ἐκτείνω* ("to stretch out"). However, there is no Greek equivalent expression in any of the Byzantine chronographers. Therefore, her statement that the

the Twelve Patriarchs with regard to four patriarchs who are about to die, it is said that they “stretch out” their feet (*T. Levi* 19.4; *T. Iss.* 7.9; *T. Jos* 20.4; *T. Benj.* 12.1). The Greek verb is derived from ἑκτείνω. Of the patriarch Gad, however, it is said that he “drew up” his feet (*T. Gad* 8.4). This word is derived from ἐξάίρω. Robinson has suggested that at some stage in the history of transmission, the initial א of קא (“to gather up,” “to drew up”) was lost. For this reason, a translator might have read קי instead, which means “to increase,” “to add to,” but which might have the meaning of “to stretch out [a hand]” in Isa 11:11.⁷⁰ I have some hesitation about following this suggestion, since קי is not translated as ἑκτείνω anywhere in the Septuagint, whereas the meaning “to stretch out” for קי in Isa 11:11 is quite exceptional.⁷¹ I shall not consider the phrases in Gen 49:33cd here, since they are identical to Gen 25:8a, d.

One can point to some further similarities between both deathbed scenes. In *Jub.* 23.1a, it is said: “He put two of Jacob’s fingers on his eyes.” This element also seems to originate in the tradition of Jacob’s death. In Gen 46:4 God says to Jacob: “and Joseph’s hand shall close your eyes.” In the context of Genesis, this utterance can be seen as a sort of assurance that Jacob will see Joseph before he dies (cf. Gen 45:28; 46:30).⁷² The resemblance between Gen 46:4 and *Jub.* 23.1a as far as content is concerned is remarkable, and strengthens the relationship between Jacob’s death in Genesis and Abraham’s death in *Jubilees*.

Moreover, there is a strong resemblance between Gen 50:4 (“And the days of mourning for him were completed”) and *Jub.* 23.7c (“And the tearful mourning for Abraham was completed”). Instead of “the days of,” *Jubilees* reads a synonymous noun for mourning.⁷³ The mourning (אבל) for the dead is described in several places in the Hebrew Bible.⁷⁴ It is primarily the outward behaviour of the mourner that is described, and not the inner feelings. Some passages show ancient mourning customs, e.g., putting on sackcloth, sprinkling dust and ashes on the head, lying on the ground, and shaving one’s beard and hair. Mourning is often connected with a period of time: seven days of mourning (Gen 50:10; cf. 1 Sam 31:13; 1 Chr 10:12), thirty days (Deut 34:8), many days (Gen 37:34; 2 Sam 13:37; 14:2; 1 Chron 7:22). The end of the period of mourning is clearly marked (Deut 34:8: “then the days of weeping and mourning were ended”; Isa 60:20: “your days of mourning shall be ended”). The author of *Jubilees* does not mention the customs of mourning in *Jub.* 23.7, but he does mention a period of time. The length of this period (“forty days”), however, is not in line with the

reading “to draw up” is found in some of Greek Mss rests on misunderstanding. So rightly also M. de Jonge, “Again: ‘to Stretch out the Feet’ in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,” *JBL* 99 (1980) 120-121.

⁷⁰ Robinson, “To stretch out the Feet,” 371-372.

⁷¹ Cf. de Jonge, “Again: ‘to Stretch out the Feet’,” 120.

⁷² Cf. Westermann, *Genesis* 3, 173.

⁷³ On the basis of Gen 50:4 and Deut 34:8, Charles amended this into “the days of.” Cf. Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 144. He is wrongly followed by Goldman, Hartom, Baillet. Cf. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees* (1989) 138.

⁷⁴ For the following, see art. אבל, *TWAT*, I, 46-50 (A. Baumann).

biblical passages. The only explanation for these forty days of mourning can be the use of forty days in Gen 50:3a. However, in Genesis, the forty days are mentioned in relation to the embalming of Jacob's body, whereas the period of mourning is seventy days for the Egyptians (Gen 50:3c) and seven days beyond the Jordan (Gen 50:10).⁷⁵

In Abraham's deathbed scene, Abraham has physical contact with his grandson Jacob while he is dying (23.1-3). Moreover, Isaac also makes contact with the dead body when he "falls on his father's face" (23.5). According to Ravid, in the book of *Jubilees*, the patriarchs, portrayed as priests, intentionally made themselves impure by touching deceased persons. Moreover, nothing is said about procedures to overcome these cases of corpse contamination.⁷⁶ In light of her attempt to read *Jubilees'* approach to purity and impurity in the context of second-century concerns, Ravid is surprised by the fact that the legal work ignores the laws of purity and impurity. According to her, the text gives the impression that the author was not particularly concerned with impurity due to contact with a dead body. Impurity in relation to a dead body is treated very seriously in Jewish law, both in the Pentateuch (cf. Num 19:11-18), and in Qumran texts such as the *Temple Scroll* (cf. 11QT^a 49.5-21; 50:10-15). According to her "the description of the prolonged contact between the dead Abraham and the sleeping Jacob on his bosom makes it quite clear that the dying Abraham *deliberately* defiled his grandson, upon his death, in the gravest manner."⁷⁷

In his response to Ravid, VanderKam rightly brings forward the point that the author of *Jubilees* did not ignore issues of his time, but was heavily influenced by the older scriptures he revised.⁷⁸ In the stories in Genesis and the first part of Exodus, there is also no concern with the world of ritual impurity. Genesis speaks only briefly about the deaths of the patriarchs and never deals with the issues of corpse contamination.⁷⁹ Moreover, I have already pointed to the close parallel with what happens at Jacob's death in Genesis, since *Jub.* 23.5 ("Isaac fell on his father's face and cried and kissed him") seems to quote Gen 50:1 ("Joseph fell on his father's face and cried over him and kissed him"), changing the names of the characters involved. There is no indictment of the ritual purity system in Genesis, and so there is not in *Jub.* 23.5. *Jubilees* is set in a time when there was no sanctuary, and therefore there were no purification rules.⁸⁰ The book deals more with moral impurity than with ritual impurity,⁸¹ although ritual purity is not completely absent.⁸²

⁷⁵ According to Endres, the author either conflated or confused the days of mourning and the days of embalming. See, Endres, *Biblical Interpretation*, 48.

⁷⁶ L. Ravid, "Purity and Impurity in the Book of *Jubilees*," *JSP* 13 (2002) 61-86 (esp. 66-67).

⁷⁷ Ravid, "Purity and Impurity," 66 (my italics).

⁷⁸ J.C. VanderKam, "Viewed from Another Angle: Purity and Impurity in the Book of *Jubilees*," *JSP* 13 (2002) 209-215. Cf. also L. Doering, "Purity and Impurity in the Book of *Jubilees*," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees* (ed. G. Boccaccini and G. Ibba; Grand Rapids, Mi.; Eerdmans, 2009, 261-275 (esp. 261, 267, 274).

⁷⁹ VanderKam, "Viewed from Another Angle," 211.

⁸⁰ VanderKam, "Viewed from Another Angle," 213.

⁸¹ J. Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (New York 2000) 46-48.

⁸² Doering, "Purity and Impurity," 267.

Conclusions

In this contribution, I have considered the passage *Jub.* 22.1-23.8 in its entirety as a rewriting of Gen 25:7-10, although most elements of Gen 25:7-10 occur only in the last part of the text (cf. 23.1ef, 7a, 8). I have pointed out the unity of time and space, and the continuity of the actors. The (still recognizable) elements of Gen 25:7-10 are integrated into a completely new narrative.

Genesis does not have a farewell speech in connection to Abraham's death. One could regard Abraham's activities as described in Gen 25:5-6 as a sort of farewell activity. These verses are elaborated on extensively in *Jubilees* 20 (Abraham's testimony for his children and grandchildren) and in *Jubilees* 21 (Abraham's testimony for Isaac). With regard to Isaac, there is a farewell speech to Jacob in Gen 27:1-29, although meant for Esau, somewhat before his death, which is described in Gen 35:27-29. With regard to Jacob's death, an extensive farewell speech for his grandchildren and children is described (Gen 47:27-49:33). Elements of Isaac's farewell speech to Jacob (Gen 27:1-29) can be found at the beginning of Abraham's deathbed scene in *Jubilees* (*Jub.* 22.1-12), whereas elements of Jacob's deathbed scene can be found in the rest of the text (*Jub.* 22.10-23.1).

Genesis does have a death (Gen 25:8) and burial report (Gen 25:9-10) for Abraham. The death and burial report with regard to Isaac is very short (Gen 35:29), but quite extensive with regard to Jacob's death (Gen 49:33-50:14). In the rephrasing of Abraham's death and burial, the author of *Jubilees* combines Gen 25:8-10 with elements taken from Gen 49:33-50:14.

Abraham blesses his grandchild. This strengthens the bond between Abraham and Jacob. Abraham calls Jacob his son, and Jacob calls Abraham his father (cf. also *Jub.* 39.6; 45.15). Because Jacob is blessed (by Abraham), elements of the blessing given by Isaac to Jacob nullify Jacob's later role as deceiver. The sequence is close to the scene with regard to Isaac's blessing. Rebekah sends food via Jacob to the patriarch. The patriarch blesses Jacob. Because Jacob has already been blessed, his deceit at a later stage becomes irrelevant.

Details of Jacob's deathbed scene seem to be transmitted through to Abraham's deathbed scene, while the young Jacob is with him in his bed. Although the book of *Jubilees* highlights Jacob more than Genesis does, Jacob's blessings for his children and grandchildren are not borrowed. The reason for the omission of the blessing of Joseph's sons (Gen 48:1-22) and his own sons (Gen 49:1-27) is possibly due to the new position of Levi in the book of *Jubilees*. In his death report (*Jub.* 45.13-16), it is said that Jacob "gave all his books and the books of his fathers to his son Levi so that he could preserve them and renew them for his sons until today" (*Jub.* 45.16). However, the fact that most of Jacob's deathbed scene is omitted is itself not a reason why *Jubilees* has added so extensively to Abraham's deathbed scene with many elements from Jacob's deathbed scene. Perhaps one could conclude that *Jubilees* wanted to stress that Abraham and Jacob were united both in their lives and in their

deaths. Jacob was not only with Abraham at the end of Abraham's life, but Abraham's end resembled that of Jacob's in Genesis.

Studies in Rewritten Bible 3

Rewritten Biblical Figures

Edited by Erkki Koskenniemi and Pekka Lindqvist

Åbo Akademi University
Eisenbrauns
2010

Studies in Rewritten Bible

Editor in Chief:

Antti Laato (Åbo Akademi University)

Editorial Board:

Gunnar af Hällström (Åbo Akademi University)

Erkki Koskenniemi (Åbo Akademi University)

Jacques van Ruiten (University of Groningen)

Publishers:

Åbo Akademi University, Turku, Finland

Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, Indiana, U.S.A.

ISSN 1797-3449

ISBN 978-952-12-2453-9

Printed at WS Bookwell Oy, Jyväskylä, Finland